Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01883 192328Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1883

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - CHANGE PARA FIVE TO READ FOUR

Z.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG
SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III AND OF FINAL DOCUMENTS

1. WE EXPECT A GENERAL TENDENCY TO ATTEMPT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FEW POINTS RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS BEGINS ON MARCH 27. THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY INTERESTED IN SETTLING SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS SOON, AND DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PROVIDE US WITH GUIDANCE ON TWO OR THREE OF THE LESS CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, SET OUT BELOW, BEFORE WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26. DEPARTMENT MAY ALSO WISH TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO A NUMBER OF OTHER MATTERS RELATING TO STAGE III AND THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WHICH WILL COME UP FOR DECISION AFTER EASTER. SOME OF THE SOVIET VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES WERE GIVEN TO US PRIVATELY BY KOVALEV ON MARCH 17, WHILE OTHERS WERE INCLUDED IN HIS STATEMENTS BEFORE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (GENEVA 1797).

2. POINTS ON WHICH DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE BY MARCH 26:

A) OBSERVERS AT STAGE III. SOVIETS BELIEVE AN INVITATION SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO UNSYG WALDHEIM, WHO WOULD SAY A FEW
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 01883 192328Z

WORDS OF "GREETINGS" AT BEGINNING OF STAGE III (AS HE DID

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

AT STAGE I FONMINS MEETING), BUT THAT NO RPT NO OTHER OBSERVERS SHOULD BE INVITED. MALTESE WILL INSIST, WITH SUPPORT FROM YUGOSLAVS AND OTHERS, THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF MEDITERRANEAN NON-PARTICIPANT STATES SHOULD ALSO BE INVITED AS OBSERVERS. DELEGATION RECOMMENDS THAT WE SUPPORT INVITATION TO WALDHEIM TO ADDRESS STAGE III BUT OPPOSE EXTENDING INVITATION TO ANY OTHER OBSERVERS AT STAGE III.

B) CHAIRMANSHIP. SOVIETS BELIEVE THAT CHAIRMANSHIP SHOULD ROTATE (PRESUMABLY IN FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER, BEGINNING WITH LETTER DRAWN BY LOT DURING STAGE II), AND WE EXPECT ALL OTHERS WILL CONCUR. WHILE THIS POINT SEEMS WELL ESTABLISHED BY THE CSCE RULES OF PROCEDURE (PARAGRAPHS 70 AND 73 OF THE HELSINKI BLUE BOOK), THERE MAY BE A GENERAL DESIRE TO CONFIRM THAT UNDERSTANDING. IN THAT EVENT, RECOMMEND WE CONCUR IN ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP ON BASIS DESCRIBED ABOVE.

C) WHO WILL SPEAK. SOVIETS BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE WILL ADDRESS STAGE III, AND WE EXPECT GENERAL CONSENSUS ON THIS POINT. RECOMMEND US CONCUR.

D) DURATION OF STAGE II AND LENGTH OF FORMAL STATEMENTS. KOVALEV SAID INITIALLY, IN BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH US, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT THAT EACH REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD SPEAK ABOUT 30 MINUTES. WE POINTED OUT THAT, IF ONE ASSUMED SIX HOURS OF WORKING SESSIONS DAILY, AND MADE ALLOWANCES FOR AN OPENING CEREMONY, A SIGNING CEREMONY, AND SOME SLIPPAGE, THIS WOULD ENTAIL A FULL FOUR-DAY MEETING. KOVALEV THEN SAID THAT PERHAPS 20 MINUTES PER SPEECH WOULD BE ENOUGH. IF THIS COULD BE AGREED, CONFERENCE COULD BE LIMITED TO 3 FULL DAYS. RECOMMEND THAT US SUPPORT A THREE-DAY STAGE III CONFERENCE, WITH A GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT THAT FORMAL STATEMENTS WOULD BE LIMITED TO ABOUT 20 MINUTES EACH.

E) STATE II DRAFTS STAGE III COMMUNIQUE. KOVALEV TOLD US SOVIETS WOULD LIKE A BRIEF NON-POLITICAL STAGE III COMMUNIQUE, AND BELIEVE THAT THE DOCUMENT SHOULD BE DRAFTED BEFORE THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 01883 192328Z

CONCLUSION OF STAGE II, AND NOT DURING STAGE III ITSELF. THIS IS IN LINE WITH THEIR DESIRE TO AVOID ANY UNPLEASANT SURPRISES AT STAGE III. RECOMMEND THAT, IF CONSENSUS FAVORS A STAGE III COMMUNIQUE, WE SHOULD FAVOR A SHORT, NON-POLITICAL DOCUMENT, TO BE DRAFTED DURING STAGE II.

3. ISSUES ON WHICH GUIDANCE WILL BE NEEDED AFTER EASTER. FOLLOWING LIST LEAVES ASIDE BASIC POLITICAL ISSUES OF DATE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

AND LEVEL OF STAGE III, WHICH WE ASSUME WILL BE DECIDED AT
A HIGH POLITICAL LZVEL WITH LITTLE OR NO DEBATE AT GENEVA.

A) SPEAKING ORDER. TO AVOID DIFFICULTIES WHICH
AROSE ON THIS MATTER AT THE STAGE I FOREIGN MINISTERS'
MEETING, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE SETTLED AT
STAGE II. BASED ON THE STAGE I PRECEDENT, WE ASSUME SOVIETS
WILL WISH TO SPEAK FIRST (SOVIETS HAVE NOT RAISED ISSUE OF
SPEAKING ORDER HERE), AND THAT COUNTRY HOLDING PRESIDENCY
OF EC-9 (PRESUMABLY ITALY) WILL WISH TO SPEAK NEXT. DEPARTMENT MAY
WISH TO ACQUIESCE IN LIKELY SOVIET DESIRE TO SPEAK FIRST
AND CONSIDER ALSO WHAT PLACE IN THE SPEAKING ORDER WOULD
BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE US.

B) INITIALLING OF FINAL DOCUMENTS AT STAGE II. KOVALEV
HAS RECALLED THE SOVIET PREFERENCE FOR HAVING FINAL CSCE
DOCUMENTS INITIALLED BY DELEGATION HEADS AT GENEVA BEFORE
END OF STAGE II, TO AVOID ANY LAST MINUTE PROBLEMS AT
STAGE III. THIS STRIKES US AS A SENSIBLE SUGGESTION;
RECOMMEND WE CONCUR.

C) SHAPE OF FINAL DOCUMENTS. KOVALEV SAID SOVIETS
ENVISAGE FOUR MAIN CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS, EACH OF WHICH WOULD
BE SIGNED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. THESE WOULD BE THE DOCUMENTS
EMERGING FROM THE WORK OF BASKETS I (SECURITY), II (ECONOMIC
COOPERATION), III (HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION), AND IV
(VOLLOW-UP). SOVIETS ALSO ENVISAGE CERTAIN OTHER DOCUMENTS
WHICH WOULD NOT BE SIGNED. (KOVALEV CITED SPECIFICALLY THE
PAPER ON THE SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, BUT AMY ALSO HAVE OTHERS, SUCH AS
THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, IN MIND.) WE POINTED OUT
THAT THIS CONCEPT OF ORGANIZATION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS IS QUITE
DIFFERENT FROM CONCEPT REPRESENTED BY DUTCH DRAFT "FRAMEWORK"
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01883 192328Z

PAPER, PRESENTED TO COORDINATING COMMITTEE LAST YEAR.
KOVALEV REPLIED THAT SOVIETS HAD REGISTERED THEIR DISAGREE-
MENT WITH DUTCH CONCEPT AT THAT TIME. HE SCOFFED AT FRG
THINKING, OF WHICH HE WAS AWARE IN GENERAL TERMS, OF A
BRIEF SIGNED COVERING DOCUMENT WITH SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENTS
THEMSELVES ANNEXED TO IT. WE ALREADY REQUESTED GUIDANCE
ON THIS POINT (GENEVA 1712) FOR USE IN NATO CAUCUS HERE.
IN VIEW OF SOVIET-EC-9 DIFFERENCES ON THIS POINT, WE ASSUME
THAT THE DEPARTMENT WILL NOT WISH TO TAKE FINAL POSITION
ON THIS UNTIL AFTER AN OPENING ROUND OF DEBATE HERE AND
APPROPRIATE BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS.

4. OTHER ISSUES MAY ARISE RELATING TO LIST OF QUESTIONSO
PRESENTED BY FINNISH DEL (GENEVA 1797), AS DISCUSSION OF
ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III PROCEEDS. WE WILL OF COURSE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

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SEEK GUIDANCE ON THESE ISSUES AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.
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EO Systematic Review
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